THE

## FAIRFIELD HERALD.

IS PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY Gaillard Despertes & Co

Terms .- THE HERALD is published Weekly in the Town of Winnsboro, at \$3.00 invareably in advance. Bay All transient advertisements to be

Obituary Notices and Tributes \$1.00 per

THE PHILADELPHIA NATIONAL CONVEN-TION.

Address to the People of the United States.

A DEMAND FOR SOUTHERN REPRESEN-TATION IN CONGRESS.

The following is the address issued by the National Convention, lately held in Philadelphia, to the people of the United States :

To the People of the United States :

people in all the States and Territories of the Union, to consult upon the condition and the wants of our common country, we address to you this declaration of our principles, and of the political purposes we seek to pro-Since the meeting of the last National Convention, in the year 1860, have occurred which have clanged the character of our internal politics and given the United States a new place among the nations of the carth. Our Government has passed through the vicissitudes and the perils of civil war-a war which, though mainly sectional in its character, has nevertheless decided political differences that from the very beginning of tion which it sought to suppress. The unity of our national existence, and has left its impress deep and ineffaceable upon all the interests, the sentiments, and the destiny of the republic. While it has inflicted upon the whole country sovere losses in life and in for generations to come, it has develcapacity for military organization and power it can ever possess is that which government which they have ordained.

the passions and test the endurance of ther the war, nor the victory by which nations, this war has given new scope it was closed, changed in any way the to the ambition of the political parties, and fresh impulse to plans of in- war was carried on by virtue of its pro novation and reform. Amid the chaos visions, and under the limitation which of conflicting sentiments inseparable they prescribe, and the result of the war from such an era, while the public did not either enlarge, abridge, or i heart is keenly alive to all the pas- any way change or affect the powers i sions that can sway the public judg- confers upon the Federal Government, ment and affect the public action; while the wounds of war are still fresh and bleeding on either side, and fears for the future take unjust proportions from the memories and resentments before the war, the "supreme law of the of the past,-it is difficult but an im- land, anything in the Constitution or perative duty which on your behalf laws of any State to the contrary, notwe, who are here assembled, have un- withstanding;" and to day, also, precise dertaken to perform.

For the first time after six long years of alienation and of conflict, we General Government, nor prohibited by have come together from every State it to the States, are "reserved to the and every section of our land, as citi- several States, or to the people thereof." zens of a common country, under that flag, the symbol again of a common glory, to consult together how best to and the language and spirit of the Con cement and perpetuate that Union which is again the object of our common love, and thus secure the bless- departments, and at all times from the ings of liberty to ourselves and our outbreak of the rebellion to its final posterity.

## THE INTERESTS OF PEACE.

is again at peace. The shock of contake counsel concerning the interest rage in the Senate of the United States".

the war has made, and perpetuate the resentation altogether in both branches or upon any grounds whatever. And not need to be acquired, but only to of the United States. benefits it has secured, and the blessing which under a wise and benign Providence, have sprung up in its flery track. This is the work, not of passion, but of calm and sober judgment; not of resentment for past offences prolonged beyond the limits which justice and reason prescribe, but of a liberal statesmanship which tolerates what it cannot prevent, and build its plans and hopes for the future rather upon a community of interest and ambition than

POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE WAR.

In the next place, we call upon you to recognize in their full significance, the war just closed. In two most important particulars the victory achieved by the National Government has been final and decisive. First, it has established beyond all further controversy, and by the highest of all human its just and binding obligation. the National Government, as defined and limited by the Constitution of the Having met in convention at the city of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, this 16th day of August, quence; and, second, it has put an quence; and, second, it has put an quence ; and, second, it has put an except that they are denied representa-1866, as the representatives of the end finally and forever to the existence of slavery upon the soil or with- lege, the States once in rebellion are in the jurisdiction of the United recognized as holding the same position, States. rectly involved in the contest, and controversy upon both was ended ab-solutely and finally by the result.

THE RIGHT OF REPRESENTATION.

In the third place, we deem it of the utmost importance that the real character of the war and the victory by which it was closed should be accurately understood. The war was carried on by the Government of the United States in maintenance of its own authority, and in defence of its own existence, both of which were menaced by the insurrecthe Government had threatened the suppression of that insurrection accomplished that result. The Government of the United States maintained by force of arms the supreme authority over all the territory, and over all the States and people within its jurisdiction which the Constitution confers upon it; property, and has imposed burdens but it acquired thereby no new power, which must weigh upon its resources no enlarged jurisdiction, no rights of territorial possession or of civil authorioped a degree of national courage in ty which it did not possess before the the presence of national dangers-a rebellion broke out. All the rightful achievement, and a devotion on the is conferred upon it, either in express part of the people to the form of the terms or by fair and necessary implication, by the Constitution of the United and to the principles of liberty which States. It was that power and that an that Government was designed to pro- thority which the rebellion sought to mote, which must confirm the confi- overthrow, and the victory of the Fededence of the nation in the perpetuity ral arms was simply the defeat of that of its republican institutions, and com- attempt. The Government of the Unimand the respect of the civilized ted States acted throughout the war on the defensive. It sought only to hold Like all great contests which rouse possession of what was its own. Nei-Constitution of the United States. or release that Government from the restrictions which it has imposed.

The Constitution of the United States is to-day precisely as it was ly as before the war, all the powers not conferred by the Constitution upon the

This position is vindicated not only by the essential nature of our Government, stitution, but by all the acts and the language of our Government, in all its overthrow. In every message and proclamation of the Executive it was explicitly declared that the sole purpose and In the first place, we invoke you to object of the war was to maintain the remember, always and everywhere, authority of the Constitution and to that the war is ended and the nation preserve the integrity of the Union; and in the enjoyment of rights, becomes im-Congress more than once reiterated this tending arms no longer assails the solemn declaration, and added the assur shuddering heart of the Republic, ance that, whenever this object should The insurrection against the supreme be attained, the war should bease, and authority of the nation has been sup- all the States should retain their equal pressed, and that authority has been rights and dignity unimpaired. It is again acknowledged, by word and act, only since the war was closed that other in every State and by every citizen rights have been asserted on behalf of within its jurisdiction. We are no one department of the General Governlonger required or permitted to regard ment. It has been proclaimed by Conor treat each other as enemies. Not gress that, in addition to the powers only have the acts of war been discon- conferred upon it by the Constitution, Government is made by its provisions tinued, and the weapons of war laid the Federal Government may now exists, and the sentiments, the pas- the people involved in the insurrection, sions, the relations of war have no the rights of war, the right of conquest longer lawful or rightful place any- and of confiscation, the right to abrowhere throughout our broad domain. gate all existing Governments, institu-We are again people of the United tions and laws, and to subject the terri-States, fellow-citizens of one country, tory conquered and its intiabitants to bound by the duties and obligations such laws, regulations deprivations as of a common patriotism, and having the legislative departments of the Govneither rights nor interests apart from ernment may see fit to impose: Under a common destiny. The duties that this broad and sweeping claim, that all the States and by every State withdevolve upon us now are again the du- clause of the Constitution which proties of peace, and no longer the duties vided that "no State shall, without its of war. We have assembled here to consent, be deprived of its equal suff-

States and of the people of the Union of representation, it is expressly provi thus to exclude the rest from represen sent, be deprived of its equal suffrage conditions and perform such acts as this sentation, not only is a right of the State Congress thus emposed may itself pro denied, but the constitutional integrity scribe. That right has not only been of the Senate is impaired, and the valid upon distrust and the weapons of is practically enforced at the present in question. But Congress at the present time. Nor does it find any support in ent moment thus excludes from repre the theory that the States thus exclude sentation, in both branches of Congress ed are in rebellion against the Government, and are, therefore, precluded all share in the enactment of laws by from sharing its authority. They are which they are to be governed, and all and to accept with all their legitimate not thus in rebellion. They are, one participation in the election of rulers by consequences, the political results of and all, in an attitude of loyalty toward which those laws are to be enforced States. In no one of them is there the asserts the right to govern, absolutely slightest indication of resistance to this and in its own discretion, all the thirty authority, or the slightest protest against six States which compose the Unionsauctions, the absolute supremacy of condition of renewed loyalty has been officially recognized by solumu proclamation of the Executive Department. The laws of the United States have been reopened and Federal taxes im posed and levied, and in every respect, tion in Congress and the Electoral Col-Both these points became di- as owing the same obligations and subject to the same duties as the other States of our common Union.

It seems to us, in the exercise of the calmest and most candid judgment we can bring to the subject, that such a claim, so enforced, involves as fatal an ing their members from Congress, for overthrow of the Constitution, and as feited their right to representation, and complete a destruction of the Governe that they can only receive it again at is made to rest wholly in the will and It is not made to depend upon any spetebellion, nor to States that have rebelln formal possession of legislative author uch acts and comply with such condireason for such exclusion, being wholly within the discretion of Congress, may change as the Congress itself shall State from all share in the Governremoved, the next Congress may exclude cluded on one gaound to day, and an ground to-morrow. Northern ascendanone Congress; the ascendancy of Western or of Southern interests, or of both combined, may exclude the Northern or the Eastern States from the next Improbable as such usurpation may seem the establishment of the principle now asserted and acted upon by Congress will render them by no means impossible. The character, indeed the very existence, of Congress and the Union i thus made dependent solely and entirely

or forbearances of the hour. We need not stop to show that action not only finds no warrant in the Constitution, but is at war with every principle of our Government, and with the very existence of free institutions. It is, indeed, the identical practice which has rendered fruitless all attempts hitherto to establish and maintain free governments in Mexico and the States of sert themselves as superior to the funda. mental law, which is set aside in reckless obedience to their beliests. Stability, whether in the exercise of power, in the administration of government, or possible; and the conflicts of party which, inder constitutional governments, are the conditions and means of political progress, are merged in the conflicts of arms to which they directly and inevita-

upon the party and sectional exigences

bly tend. It was against this peril, so conspicious and so fatal to all free governments, that our Constitution was intended es pecially to provide. Not only the stawhich is conferred all the legislative power of the National Government, consists of two branches, the Senate and House of Representatives, says the Constitution (article 1, section 2), "shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States." Not only is the right of representation thus recognized as possessed by out restriction, qualification or condition of any kind, but the duty of choosing representatives is imposed upon the peo ple of each and every State alike, with

of the Federal Congress. And the in the Senate, so careful is the Constitu-Congress in which only a part of the tion to secure to every State this right are represented has asserted the right ded that "no State shall without its contation, and from all share in making in that body, even by an amendment of their own laws or choosing their own the Constitution itself. When, therefore, rulers until they shall comply with such any State is excluded from such repreasserted, but it has been exercised, and ity of the Government itself is brought ten States of the Union, denving them the Government, and of sworn allegi- In other words, a Congress in which ance to the Constitution of the United only twenty six States are represented This to make their laws and choose their rulers, and to exclude the other ten from all share in their own government until it sees fit to admit them thereto. What is there to distinguish the power thus asserted and exercised from the most ab solute and intolerable tyranny?

EXTRAVAGANT CLAIMS OF CONGRESS.

Nor do these extravigant and unjust claims on the part of Congress to powers and authority never conferred upon the Government by the Constitution, find any warrant in the arguments or excuses urged on their behalf. It is alleged,

First. That these States, by the act of

rebellion and by voluntarily withdraw-

ment and Union, as that which was the hands of the supreme legislative ausought to be effected by the people and thority of the Government, on its own States in armed insurrection against terms and at its own discretion. If rep them both. It cannot escape observa- resentation in Congress and participatio tion that the power thus asserted to ex- in the Government were simply privil clude certain States from representation | eges conferred and held by favor, this statement might have the merit of plansi discretion of the Congress that asserts it. bility. But representation is under the Constitution not only expressly recognicified conditions or circumstances, nor zed as a right, but is imposed as a duty to be subject to any rules or regulations and it is essential in both respects to the whatever. The right asserted and ex- existence of the Government and to the ere sed to absolute, without qualification maintainance of its authority. In free or restriction, not confined to States in Governments fundamental and essential rights cannot be forfeited, except against ed; it is in the right of any Congress individuals by the process of law; nor can constitutional duties and obligations ity to exclude any State or States, and be discarded and laid aside. The enany portion of the people thereof, at any joyment of rights may be for the time time, from representation in Congress suspended by the failure to claim them, and in the Electoral College, at its own and duties may be evaded by the refusal discretion, and until they shall perform to perform them. The withdrawal of their members from Congress by the tions as it may dictate. Obviously, the States which resisted the General Government was among their acts of insurrection - was one of the means and agencies by which they sought to impair the change. One Congress may exclude aurhority and defeat the action of the Gouernment; and that act was annulled cent for one reason; and that reason and rendered void when the insurrection itself was suppressed. Neither the right t for another. One State may be ex- of representation nor the duty to be represented was in the least impaired by other may be excluded on the opposite the fact of insurrection; but it may have been that by reason of the insurrection cy may exclude Southern States from the conditions on which the enjoyment of that right and the performance of that duty for the time depended could not be fulfilled. This was, in fact, the case An insurgent power, in the exercise of the usurped and unlawful authority in the territory under its control, had prohibited that allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States which is made by that fundamental law the essential condition of representation in its Government. No man within the insurgent States was allowed to take gitimate action of the several members the oath to support the Constitution of of the common Union. Such an exerthe United States, and, as a necessary consequence, no man can lawfully represent those States in the councils of the Union. But this was only an obstacle to the employment of the right and to the discharge of a duty-it did not annul the one nor abrogate the other; and it ceased to exist when the usurpation by which it was created had been over-South America. Party necessities as- thrown, and the States had again resumed their allegiance to the Constitu-

tion of the United States. Second: But it is asserted, in support of the authority claimed by the Congress now in possession of power, that it flows directly from the laws of war; that it is among the rights which victorious war always confers upon the conquerors, and which the conqueror may exercise or waive in his own discretion. To this we reply that the laws in question relate solely, so far as the rights they confer are concerned, to wars waged between alien and indepen dent nations, and can have no place or force, in this regard, in a war waged by bility, but the very existence, of the a government to suppress an insurrection of tits own people, upon its own to depend upon the right and the fact soil, against its authority. If we had aside, but the state of war no longer claim over the States, the territory and of representation. The Congress upon carried on successful war against any foreign nation, we might thereby have acquired possession and jurisdiction over the soil of the Southern States, limited only by our own Constitution. Our laws were the only national laws in force upon it. The Government of the United States was the only Government through which those States and their people had relations with foreign nations, and its flag was the only flag by which they were recognized or known anywhere on the face of the earth. In all these respects, and in all other respects involving na-

be maintained; and victorious war gainst the rebellion could do nothing they maintain it. It could only form in all their public conduct to the ed supremacy of the Constitution. It laws—we have no right to exact from the could neither enlarge or diminish the authority which that Constitution and opinions to our own. confers upon the enlargement or abridgment of constitutional power can be effected only by amendment of the Union to protect and de-the Constitution itself, and such fend, under all contingencies and by unendment can be made only in the whatever means may be required, it modes which the Constitution itself prescribes. The claim that the suppression of an insurrection against the Government gives additional authority and power to that Government, especially that it enlarges the jurisdiction of Congress and gives that body the right to exclude States from representation in the national councils. without which the nation itself can byve no authority and no existence, dems to be at variance alike with our ofineiples of the Constitution and

eth public safety.

Third: But it is alleged that in certain particulars the Constitution of the United States fails to secure that al olute justice and impartial equality which the principles of our Governmont require; that it was in these respects the result of compromises and neessions to which, however necessa ry when the Constitution was formed we are no longer compelled to submit and that now having the power though successful war and just warrant for its exercise in the hostile conduct of the insurgent section, the actual Government of the United States may impose its own conditions, and make the Constitution conform to all its provisions to its ideas of equality and the right of man. Congress at its last session proposed amendments to the Constitution, enlarging in some very important particulars the authority of the General Government over that of the seve ral States, and reducing by indirec disfranchisement the representative power of the States in which slavery formerly existed; and it is claimed that these amendments may be made valid as parts of the original Constitution, without the concurrence of the States to be most seriously affected by them, or may be imposed upon those States by three-fourths of the remaining States, as conditions of these read mission to representation in Congress

and in the Electoral College. It is the unquestionable right of the people of the United States to make such changes in the Constitution as the Constitution itself points out-in conformity with the letter and the spirit of that instrument, and with the principles of self-government and of equal rights which lie at the basis of our republican institutions. We deny our republican institutions. We deny the right of Congress to make these changes in the fundamental law, without the concurrence of three-fourths of all the States, including especially those to be most seriously affected by them; or to impose them upon States or people, as conditions of representation, or of admission to any of the rights, duties or obligations which belong, under the Constitution, to all the States alike. And with greater emphasis do we deny the right of any portion of the States excluding the rest of the States from any share in their councils, to propose or sanction changes in the Constitution which are to affect permanently their political relations and control, or coerce, the lecise of power is simply an usurpation ; just as unwarrantable when exercised by Northern States as it would be if exercised by Southern, and not to be fortified or palliated by anything in the past history either of those by whom it is attempted or of those upon whose rights and liberties it is to take effect. 'It finds no warrant in the Constitution. It is at war with the fundamental principles of our form of government. If tolerated in one instance, it becomes the precedent for future invasions of liberty and constitutional right, dependent solely upon the will of the party in possession of power, and thus leads, by direct and necessary sequence, to the most fatal and intolerable of all tyrannies-the tyranny of shifting and irresponsible political factions. It is against this, the most formidable of all the dangers which menace the stability of free government, that the Constitution of the United States was intended most carefully to provide. We demand a strict and steadfast adherence to its

provisions. In this, and in this alone can we find a basis of permanent union and peace. Fourth : But it is alleged, in justification of the usurpation which we condemn, that the condition of the Southern States and people is not such as renders safe their readmission to a share in the Government of the country; that they are still disloyal in sentiment and purpose, and that neither the honor and credit nor the interest of a nation would be safe if they were readmitted to a share in its councils. We might reply to this:

1, That we have no right, for such reasons to deny to any portion of the

those of loyalty—so long as they conform in all their public conduct to the requirements of the Conviction and laws—we have no right to exact from them conformity in their public conducts was began that they have fallen exclusively upon neither party—that they have fallen, instead, with the far them conformity in their puttiments.

3. That we have no right to dis trust the purpose or the ability of the honor and its welfare.

These would, in our judgment, be full and conclusive answers to the plea thus advanced for the exclusion of these States from the Union. But we say further, that this plea resis upon a complete misapprehension or an unjust perversion of existing facts. PEELING IN THE SOUTH

We do not hesitate to aftirm that there is no section of the country where the Consti-tution and laws of the United States find a more prompt and entire obedience than in those States and among those people who were lately in arms against them; or where there is less purpose or danger of any future attempt to overthrow their authority. It would seem to be both natural and inevitable that in States and sections so recently wept by the whirlwind of war, where all the ordinary modes and methods of organized industry have been broken up, and the bonds and influences that guarantee social order have been destroyed—where thousands and tens of thousands of turbulent spirits have been suidenly loosed from the discipline of war, and thrown without resources or restraint upon a disorganized and chaotic society, and where the keen sense of defeat is added to the overthrow of ambition and hopes, seems of violence should defy for a time the imperfect discipline of law, and excite anew the fears and forebo-dings of the patriotic and well disposed. It

is unquestionably true that local disturbances of this kind, accompanied by more or less violence, do still occur. But they are confined entirely to the cities and large towns of the Southern States, where different races and interests are brought most closely in contact, and where passions and researments are always most easily fed and fanned into outbreak; and even there, they are quite as much the fruit of untimely and hurtful political agitation, as of any hostili-ty on the part of the people to the authoriof the National Government. But the concurrent testimony of those

est acquainted with the condition of society and the state of public sentiment in the South-including that of its representatives in this convention—establishes the fact that the great mass of the Southern people ac-cept, with as full and sincere submission as do the people of the other States, the re-established supremacy of the national au-thority, and are prepared, in the most loyal spirit, and with a zool quickened alike by their interest and their pride, to co-operate with other States and sections in whatever may be necessary to defend the rights, maintain the honor and promote the welfare largely due to the wise generosity with which their enforced surrender was accepted by the President of the United States and the generals in immediate command of their armies, and to the liberal measures which were afterward taken to restore order, tranquility and law to the States where all had for the time been overthrown. No steps could have been better calculated to command the respect, win the confidence, revive the patriotism and secure the permanent and affectionate allegiance of the people of the South to the Constitution laws of the Union, than those which have been so firmly taken and so steadfastly pursued by the President of the United States. And if that confidence and loyalty have been since impaired; if the people of the South are to-day less cordial in their allegiance than they were immediately upon the close of the war, we believe it due to the changed tone of the legislative department of the General Government to ward them; to the action by which Congress has endeavored to supplant and defeat the President's wise and beneficent policy of restoration; to their exclusion from all participation in our common government to the withdrawal from them of rights conferred and guaranteed by the Constitution and to the evident purpose of Congress, in the exercise of a usurped and nulawful au thority, to reduce them from the rank of free and equal members of a republic of States, with rights and dignities unimpairod, to the condition of conquered provinces and a conquered people, in all things sub-

ordinate and subject to the will of their conquerors, free only to obey laws in making which they are not allowed to share. No people has ever yet existed whose loyalty and faith such treatment long continued would not alienate and impair. the ten millions of Americans who live in the South would be unworthy citizens of a free country, degenerate sons of any heroic ancestry, unfit ever to become guardians of the rights and liberties bequeathed to us by the fathers and founders of this Republic, if they could accept, with uncomplaining ubmissiveness, the humiliations thus sought to be imposed upon them. Resentment of injustice is always and everywhere essen-tial to freedom; and the spirit which prompts the States and people lately in insurrection, but insurgents now no longer, to protest against the imposition of unjust and degrading conditions, makes them all the more worthy to share in the government of a free commonwealth, and gives still firmer assurance of the future power and freedom of the Republic. For whatever responsibility the Southern people may have incurred in resisting the authority of the Nations al Government and in taking uparms for it-overthrow, they may be held to answer, as individuals, before the judicial tribunals of the land, and for that conduct, as societies and organized communities, they have al-ready paid the most fearful populaties that can fall on offending States in the losses, the sufferings and humiliations of unsuccessful war. But whatever may be the guilt or the punishment of the conscious authors of the insurrection, caudor and com mon justice demand the concession that the great mass of those who became involved in take counsel concerning the interest rage in the Senate of the United States", ple of each and every State slike, with of peace; to decide how we may most bas been annulled, and ten States have out distinction, or the authority to make been refused, and are still refused, rep-distinction among them, for any reason soon was perfect and complete. It did ferred upon them by the Constitution they had been taught to believe their rights,

or under a compulsion, physical. Nor can it be amiss to remember that, terrible as have been the becavements and the losses of ed friends, the dispersion of familie. discursion of social systems and socially the overthrow of governments, of law and order, the despriction of property, and of forms and modes and means of mountry; the loss of political, commercian, and moral

the loss of political, commercial, and moral influence, in every shape and form which great calamities can assume,—the States and people which engaged in the war against the Govirnment of the United States have suffered tenfold more than those who emained in allegiance to its Constitution und laws.

These considerations may not, as they certainly do not, justify the action of the people of the insurgent States; but no just or generous mind will refuse to them a very considerable weight in determining the line of conduct which the Government of the

United States should pursue toward them.

They accept, if not with alacrity, certainly without sullen resentment, the defeat and overthrow they have sustained. They acknowledge and acquiere in the results, to themselves and the country, which defeat lavolves. They no longer claim for any State the right to second from the Union; they no longer assert for any State an alle-giance paramount to that which is due to the General Government. They have accepted the destruction of slavery, abolished to by their State Constitutions, and concur-ed with the States and people of the whole Union in prohibiting its existence forever upon the soil or within the jurisdiction of e United States. They indicate and evince their purpose just so fast as may be possi-ble and safe to adapt their domestic laws to the changed condition of their society, and the coarged condition of the association of the court by the law and its tribunals equal and impartial justice to all classes of their inbabitants. They admit the invalidity of all nots of resistance to the national authority, and of all debts incurred in attempting its overthrow. They avow their willingness to share the burdens and discharge the duties and obligations which rest upon them, in common with other States and sections of the Union; and they renew, through their representatives in this Convention, by all their public conduct in every way, and by the most solemn acts by which States and societies can pledge their faith, their en-gagement to bear true faith and allegiance, through all time to come, to the Constitution of the United States, and to all laws that may be made in pursuance thereof.

## HOW TO COMPLETE THE WORK OF RESTORA-TION.

Fellow-countrymen, we call upon you, in full reliance upon your intelligence and your patriotism, to accept, with generous and ungradging confidence, this full surrender on the part of those lately in arms against your authority, and to share with them the honor and renown that await those who bring back peace and concord to jurring States. The war just closed, with all its sorrows and disasters, has opened a new career of glory to the nation it has saved. they, upon due deliberation, may deem expedient. But we insist that no instance where a people, so powerful in they shall be made in the mode which numbers, in resources and in public spirit, after a way so long in its duration, so destructive in its progress, and so adverse in its issue, have accepted defeat and its consequences with so much of good faith as terest, of principle, and of action through institution of slavery, always a cause of terest, of principle, and of action through all time to come. It has developed in both sections a military capacity—an aptitude for achievements of war, both by sea and land-before unknown even to ourselves, land destined to exercise hereafter, under united councils, an important influence upon the character and destiny of the continent and the world. And while it has thus revealed, disciplined and compacted our power, it has proved to us beyond controversy or doubt, by the course pursued toward both contending sections by foreign powers, that we must be the guardians of our own independence, and that the principles of republican freedom we represent can find among the nations of the earth no friends

or defenders but ourselves.

We call upon you, therefore, by every consideration of your own dignity and safety, and in the name of fibury through. the world, to complete the work of restion and peace which the President of United States has so well begun, and the policy adopted and the prins ed by the present Congress alone obstruct.
The time is close at hand when memoers of new Congress are to be elected. If that Congress shall perpetuate this policy and, Congress shan perpendice this poncy and, by excluding loyal States and people from representation in its halls, shall continue the usurpation by which the legislative powers of the Government are now exercised, common prudence compels us to anticipate augmented discontent, a sulten withdrawal from the duties and obligations of the Federal Government, internal discensions and a general collision of sentiments and pretensions which may renew, in a still fearful shape, the civil war from which we have just emerged. We call upon you to interpose your power to prevent the recurrence of so transcendent a calamity Wo call upon you, in every Congressional Dismembers who, whitever other differences may characterize their political action, will unite in recognizing the right of EVERY STATE OF THE UNION TO REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS, AND WHO WILL ADNUT TO SEATS, IN CITUCH BRANCH, EVERY LOVAL REPRESEN-TATIVE PROMEVERY STATE in allegiance to he Government who may be found by each louse, in the exercise of the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, who have been duly elected, returned and qualified for a seat therein.

When this shall have been done, the Government will have been restored to its integrity, the Constitution of the United States will have been re-established in its full supremacy, and the American Union will have again become what it was designed to be by those who formed it—a sover-eign nation composed of soparate States each like itself, moving in a distinct and inlependent sphere, exercising powers defined and reserved be a common Constitution, and resting upon the assent, the confidence and co-operation of all the States and all the people subject to its constitutional relaious, the States and the General Governe ment can enter in a fraternal spirit, with a common purpose and a common interest, upon whatever reforms the security of personal rights, the enlargement of popular iberty, and the perfection of our republecan itstitutions may demand.

## Declaration of Principles.

The National Union Convention, now assembled in the city of Philadelphia, [Concluded on Second Page.]